

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----171159Z 115358 /14

O R 171100Z APR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4805  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY SANA  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
USMISSION USUN

S E C R E T MOGADISCIO 0634

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, SO, UR, US  
SUBJ: SOMALI AMBASSADOR ADDOU BRIEFS CHARGE ON CONSULTATIONS

REFS: A) STATE 067050; B) ADDIS ABABA 1878 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: SOMALI AMBASSADOR ABDULLAHI AHMED ADDOU, WHO IS CURRENTLY VISITING MOGADISCIO FOR CONSULTATIONS WITH GSDR, BRIEFED CHARGE ON GSDR FOREIGN POLICY REVIEW, AFFECTING SOVIET, ARAB AND US INTERESTS. HE SAID GSDR HAD CONCLUDED THERE WAS NO HOPE OF SOMALI/SOVIET RAPPROCHEMENT IN NEAR-TERM AND WAS, THEREFORE, PREPARED GO "ALL THE WAY" WITH US, PROVIDED US OFFERED REAL ALTERNATIVE TO SOVIET MILITARY AID. END. SUMMARY.

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1. NEARING END OF TWO WEEKS' CONSULTATIONS AT MOGADISCIO, ADDOU VISITED CHARGE AT LATTER'S HOME APRIL 16 TO GIVE HIM PRESIDENT MOHAMED SIAD BARRE'S LATEST THINKING ON SOMALI/SOVIET AND SOMALI/US RELATIONS. HE ASKED THAT CONVERSATION BE REPORTED TO GIVE USG PREVIEW OF DEMARCHE HE WILL MAKE UPON RETURN WASHINGTON. (ADDU EXPECTS LEAVE MOGADISCIO APRIL 18 EN ROUTE WASHINGTON.)

2. ADDOU SAID THAT CASTRO/PODGORNY HAD LEANED "HEAVILY" ON SIAD TO PUT OFF GSDR TERRITORIAL CLAIMS ON ETHIOPIA AND TO HELP REDUCE OUTSIDE PRESSURES ON ETHIOPIAN PROVISIONAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT (EPMG), THUS GIVING LT. COL. MENGISTU HAILE-MARIAM TIME TO CONSOLIDATE HIS MARXIST/LENINIST REGIME. ACCORDING ADDOU, HOWEVER, CASTRO/PODGORNY EFFORT WAS COMPLETE FAILURE. THERE CAN BE NO UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN EPMG AND GSDR, HE SAID, UNTIL EPMG GRANTS SELF-DETERMINATION TO ETHNIC SOMALIS IN THE OGADEN. UNTIL THAT TIME, REGARDLESS NATURE OF REGIME AT ADDIS ABABA, GSDR CONSIDERS ITSELF IN STATE OF CONFRONTATION WITH EPMG. AS ADDOU PUT IT, SPLIT IS SO WIDE THAT IF ETHIOPIA WERE TO BECOME MUSLIN COUNTRY, SOMALIA WOULD HAVE TO ADOPT CHRISTIANITY.

3. SIAD REPORTEDLY HAS CONCLUDED THAT SOVIETS ARE COMMITTED TO ALL-OUT SUPPORT FOR MENGISTU REGIME, REGARDLESS OF GSDR'S REACTION. HE NOW BELIEVES THERE IS NO HOPE OF SOMALI/SOVIET RAPPROCHEMENT IN NEAR-TERM. THEREFORE, SIAD IS PLANNING MAJOR RE-ORIENTATION GSDR FOREIGN POLICY AND IS PREPARED GO "ALL THE WAY" WITH US, PROVIDED USG OFFERS REAL ALTERNATIVE TO SOVIET SUPPORT, ESPECIALLY MILITARY AID. TO CHARGE'S OBSERVATION THAT GSDR'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS TO DATE HAD BEEN CAREFULLY BALANCED BETWEEN PRAISE AND IMPLIED CRITICISM OF SOVIETS, ADDOU SAID SIAD HAD DELIBERATELY HELD OFF BURNING HIS BRIDGES IN PUBLIC WHILE THERE WAS STILL CHANCE OF RAPPROCHEMENT WITH SOVIETS. MOREOVER, GSDR FEELS GENUINE SENSE GRATITUDE FOR MAJOR SOVIET MILITARY ASSISTANCE IN PAST. EVEN NOW, HE SAID, WHEN GSDR HAS DECIDED TO MOVE AWAY FROM ITS PAST DEPENDENCE ON SOVIETS, GSDR BELIEVES IT MUST PROCEED VERY CAUTIOUSLY UNTIL ALTERNATIVE POLITICAL/MILITARY SUPPORT IS ASSURED. ADDOU HOPED USG WOULD KEEP THIS DELICATE POSITION IN MIND OVER  
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NEXT FEW MONTHS AND WOULD AVOID PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND ACTIONS THAT COULD COMPLICATE GSDR'S DISENGAGEMENT FROM SOVIETS.

4. IN THIS CONNECTION, ADDOU SAID SAUDI FOREIGN MINISTER SAUD AL-FEISAL'S RECENT VISIT TO MOGADISCIO HAD BEEN "100 PERCENT SUCCESS". SAUDIS HAD MADE IMPORTANT (UNSPECIFIED) AID COMMITMENTS TO GSDR AND MORE WERE TO FOLLOW. THERE WOULD BE "FAR REACHING" MOVES ON BOTH SAUDI AND SOMALI SIDES IN "NEXT TWO TO THREE MONTHS" TO CEMENT SAUDI ARABIA'S NEW POSITION HERE.

5. GSDR WAS ALSO PLACING GREAT HOPES ON IMPROVED TIES WITH US AND LOOKED UPON US AS MAIN POTENTIAL SOURCE OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT REPLACING SOVIETS. USG, HE SAID, HAD "HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY" REVERSE ITS DORTUNES IN SOMALIA. IT ALL DEPENDED UPON GENEROSITY AND TIMELINESS OF US RESPONSE TO GSDR'S URGENT REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE, ADDOU EMPHASIZED THAT, ALTHOUGH GSDR WOULD WELCOME ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, IT WAS MAINLY INTERESTED IN MILITARY HARDWARE FROM US. AT SOME POINT, GSDR WOULD BE PREPARED SEND MILITARY MISSION TO WASHINGTON.

6. AS EARNST OF GSDR'S GOOD INTENTIONS TOWARD US, ADDOU SAID HE HAD RECEIVED ASSURANCES FROM DIRECTOR GENERAL (DG) OF COMMERCE MINISTRY THAT GSDR WAS PREPARED TALK WITH TEXACO ABOUT BLOCKED FUNDS. DG HAD NO FIXED IDEA ABOUT DISPOSITION OF FUNDS BUT HOOED TEXACO WOULD FIND OPPORTUNITY FOR REINVESTMENT. ADDOU URGED TEXACO TO CONTACT DG.

7. CHARGE TOOK OPPORTUNITY TO RAISE GODE RAID (REFTEL B), DURING WHICH AMCIT MCCLURE WAS KILLED APPARENTLY BY SOMALI GUERILLAS. CHARGE POINTED OUT REGRETTABLE EFFECT SUCH INCIDENTS, INVOLVING AMCITS IN CONTESTED TERRITORIES, COULD HAVE ON US PUBLIC AND OFFICIAL OPINION. ADDOU REGRETTED INCIDENT AND SAID THAT, ALTHOUGH GSDR HAD NO DIRECT AUTHORITY WITHIN ETHIOPIAN TERRITORY, IT COULD CERTAINLY USE ITS INFLUENCE WITH SOMALI LIBERATION MOVEMENTS TO AVOID INCIDENTS IN FUTURE. HE PROMISED PASS THIS ALONG TO APPROPRIATE AUTHORITIES.

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8. COMMENT: ADDOU'S CONVERSATION WITH CHARGE IS CLEAR INDICATION THAT USG WILL BE UNDER PRESSURE TO MAKE MAXIMUM MATERIAL COMMITMENT TO GSDR DURING TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. GSDR PUTS HIGH PRICE ON ITS FRIENDSHIP AND WILL NOT ALLOW ITSELF BE TREATED AS SUPPLICANT, WHATEVER ITS TRUE POSITION. INDEED, REDUCTION OR ELIMINATION OF SOVIET ACCESS TO SOMALI STRATEGIC FACILITIES WOULD BE IMPORTANT GAIN FOR US AND IS WORTH A PRICE. ON BALANCE, CHARGE BELIEVES IT IS IN US INTERESTS TO RESPOND POSITIVELY TO GSDR OVERTURES, BOTH BILATERALLY AND AS PART OF LARGER FRIENDLY INTERNATIONAL AID EFFORT ON BEHALF SOMALIA. HOWEVER, THERE IS DANGER IN PRECIPITOUS US RESPONSE TO WHAT ARE STILL UNCLEAR GSDR AND ARAB INTENTIONS TOWARD ETHIOPIA, ESPECIALLY IF US IS TO SUPPLY GSDR WITH MILITARY EQUIPMENT. WE SHOULD EXPLORE THESE INTENTIONS CRITICALLY AND MAKE CLEAR TO ALL SIDES THAT US DOES NOT INTEND TAKE PART IN ANY LONG-OR SHORT-TERM COMBINATION TO UNDERMINE ETHIOPIAN TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, BEFORE GOING TOO FAR TO MEET GSDR'S DEMANDS.

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